133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
361 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
227 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
512 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining
[311] agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
499 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

727 The war was even more catastrophic for Hinatogawa than for Hanashiro.
[36] Before the war, Hinatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

of the head of the extended Matsuda family. In the extended family reunions at this home, which is on the presumed original site of the first house, on New Years and on O-Bon, there are member families not only from Matsuda itself, but from villages in the Motobu peninsula, Nakagusuku, and the Nakijin areas. There are about 180 persons in the present extended family group of the Matsuda family, of whom about 80 attend the reunions. In these extended family reunions, the heads of the branch families who reside in other villages may send money--about 10Y--for charcoal sticks (senko in Japanese) and sake to be used in the observances. These meetings occur at New Years, on the birth of a child, at the celebration on the naming of a child, for the worship at the family tomb in the third month of the lunar year, and on O-Bon in the seventh month. Another practice in this family illustrates a variant in extended family customs. In the Matsuda family, the members of the main family, every seventh year, hold worship at the homes of branch families at Nakagusuku and Nakijin during the festival of the fifth lunar month. 614

The importance of the extended family, it would seem, varies somewhat with the families comprising the larger kinship group. While in the extended family, the ties are not so close as those of the immediate family, and even of friends and neighbors, these ties though sometimes tenuous are really a geographical network of relationships that provide the basis in fact for belonging and for being part of a wider community.

The force of this fact should not be underestimated. It is part of the personal security and of being a link in the chain that is so integral a characteristic of the family system. It is not unusual for a person to go to another village or to the larger towns and to have his relatives in the extended family receive him and take care of him for long or short periods. The head of the extended family and his custodianship of the family tomb, and his leadership in the reunions further cement these wider relationships. With some, it is true, extended family observances are perfunctory. A school teacher, for example, said that when his beliefs in religion and in the worship of ancestors were stronger, he visited the site of the main house quite often; now his visits were perhaps once or twice a year, and these were done as a matter of form. But still they were done, and the indirect effect, if not to deepen religious conviction, was to maintain personal ties with the wider kinship group. There is little doubt that the extended family reinforces and solidifies the family groups, especially when several branch families are located in the village of the seat of the main family, or with those, like the fishing community of Hinatogawa, whose family seat is in a common parent town. There does not seem, however, to be that strong sense of extended family loyalty that has been remarked upon so often in the traditional Chinese family system, especially among the gentry class. [574] [183]

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the sodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

311 Land classification in Okinawa proceeds from the village to the township and then to the whole island. Each class of land in a village has its own grade. By combining these grades a township classification is made. This is done first by village committees determining the grades for each of their classes of land, and then by setting up a table of equivalences after discussion by the committee representing the whole township. Matsuda's first grade dry crop land might be considered by the land classification committee to be equal in quality to Ginoza village's second class land. While there might be only six classifications for any one village, when all these are combined, there may be ten grades for the township. This is shown by the table of correspondences for Matsuda and neighboring villages in Ginoza-son, as of November 1951.

In this illustration, Matsuda's first class rice land is considered second grade on a township wide basis; its sixth grade dry crop land is grade nine, and its first and second class houses are by comparison, grades three and four in the whole township.

311 623 632 With minor variations, the procedures in classifying land are the same in both townships. Each village makes the classification of its own land. This is done by five villagers, chosen by the people for their knowledge and integrity. In Gushichan township, village experts are designated to serve on the township committee.[8] Seven men from the villages are joined by the mayor (sonchō), the vice-mayor (joyaku), the trade and industry section head, the agricultural section head of the township office, a total of eleven men, who then determine the township classifications. These committees make inspections of doubtful cases, often after working hours. The field trips usually end up with a sake party.

● [574]

In Ginoza-son essentially the same procedures are followed. Each village sends representatives, the number being determined by the area of the village. In late 1951, this village-wide committee had 24 members with the township mayor as chairman. Each village prepares its own land classification map. The local classifications, later combined to make a township-wide classification, have the advantage of limiting the range of grades in a small area and of comparing parcels close together.

Occasionally the grade of a plot is changed to correct an error or to make it consistent with an improvement. A new road may make a plot of land more accessible and thus change its grade.

311 651 433 556 In all the villages studied, land classification was important for the same reasons: for tax purposes, for estimating future production, and for the individual farmer, a means of demonstrating tangible wealth.

8 One representative each is chosen from the villages of Gushichan, Aragusuku, Koshihara, and Nakaza villages, one from Oton and Hanashiro combined, one from Asato and Yoza combined, and one from Hinatogawa-ikku and Hinatogawa-niku combined.

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

[574] The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments [262] of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The [406] [577] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an [353] empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

436 175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a ¥100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. 434 511 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from ¥40-60,000 a year.

[574] [388] [262] Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are cancelled when the price goes up. [209] (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and [872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or [651] tile. (15) Taxes.

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient [511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

42- 8- The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertiliser, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expediti , to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1993 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosa village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted.

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck.

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery.

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese).

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality.

According to a Ginosa midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

844
852

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained.

854
776
231
[702]

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held.

[574]

[183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Matsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources.

[184]

846
[354]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting."

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Matsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture.

184

000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochisu). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawa, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through [839] import stores have provided more variety.

272 Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have [915] acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are [574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating [264] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl [262] of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

574 The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does [562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

1 In Hinatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Mmn ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

305 302 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants, visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by convention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who [177] read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the position of the women. But in general women accept their status. The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home. The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[574] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she participates in the conversation, though she usually retires earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then unobtrusively retire.

[593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the company of other women with like duties. Her working and social life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women, day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public, except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party, a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism.

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking.

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation.

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid [231] is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient [519] of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

25 Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made
252 in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every
[264] meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cyoad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu) has survived. In Hinatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given ¥5 or ¥10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are [769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the [782] father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Hinatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor [793] priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public [574] part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachiharu (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing
342 of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
● [514] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organizational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565
[127] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

512 461 [855] [262] care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visiting back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

[574]

512 [231] 512 515 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being prepared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 [231] [238] Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[883] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 264 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the evening meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 262 264 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal.

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing.

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time.

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere.

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

parent aftereffects of remorse or physical incapacitation, is a characteristic of this village. Excessive or orgiastic feasting which might interfere with work duties of the following day or days is absent. Leisure events spent in groups are joyful and desirable to all, untinged by hidden motives of social compulsion or conformity, which marks so many recreational activities in a culture like ours.

The village calendar does not include a weekly rest day, although government offices are closed on Sunday. Rest and holidays for the majority of villagers are regulated by religious and agricultural events which, in former times, were observed at least once during each lunar month. Although some of these have been simplified or given up in recent times by people whose participation in the old religion has diminished or by those who seek a sounder economy by urging greater production of crops and accumulation of savings, when it comes to observing and enjoying holidays, even the most rational village leader forgets his concern for the time being. The elaborateness of celebrations may be less today, as a result of economic pressure, than in former times—the spirit hardly could be. To know and appreciate the sense of humor and the wit of the people, one has only to attend their parties. During other times these qualities are less expressed—though they are never completely absent. If the naive comment that Okinawans are "childlike"—an observation which Westerners in describing them have permitted themselves—can be taken to have any foundation in fact, it could only be that like many children they are capable of complete absorption and indulgence in fun when the occasion is proper. For the Taira person such indulgence cannot be achieved without food, drink, music, and dance. These are the main components of entertainment which help to elicit gaiety and good humor, whether during holidays observed by families in individual homes, or those of the descent group main houses, or in village-wide celebrations, which are extremely common. These ingredients also appear during more informal hours of relaxation, each day after work, when there are small gatherings here and there, though on a more modest scale.

Since calendrical holidays, whether of a family nature or community-wide, have many aspects in common, we may mention some of these in general. Most gatherings begin in the late afternoon and last until late at night although never until daybreak. These are the rare times when people can dress in their best clothes and by doing so shed, perhaps, symbolically all associations with everyday routine.

The sequence of events at any kind of celebration is somewhat like a veil dance during which one layer of formality after another disappears. A formal period precedes not only all village-wide celebrations

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

527 —held at the old warehouse, the village office, or, during warm days,
574 outside—but also introduces all family or small group events. This is the time when guests arrive, polite greetings are exchanged with everyone in the order of his relative status, and a seat is found in accordance with it. Everyone sits quietly and politely, men with legs
[576] crossed tightly in front, women resting their buttocks between their heels. The conversation is somewhat stilted and reluctant. Meanwhile the hostess and her female helpers set cups before each guest, and they, or the male host himself, may pour tea.

537 Village celebrations of an official nature, such as "Mother's Day"
527 (see Chapter 6) or the reception of the newly elected mayor, or New
574 Year, are times for oratory of a sober nature. The village dignitaries and honored visitors, frequently seated at tables overlooking the community on the floor, each give a speech consisting of lengthy inventories of events and accomplishments. Sometimes food and drink are not served until the last one has spoken, but more often the situation is mellowed by the simultaneous serving of food and drink, which add to the inspiration of the speaker and the enthusiasm of his listeners.

527 Special dishes are associated with different holidays, and food, when
574 served, begins to dispel some of the formality. Even if there are no
262 speeches, it gives everybody something to do and talk about, and as we shall see shortly, more effective stimulants follow soon. The ice is broken. The food set before guests may be red-colored rice, which is served at joyful events such as New Year, or white rice, which is prepared when the dead are commemorated. For agricultural holidays the special food is made from the harvested crop, rice or potatoes. A feast plate may also include some pork, cooked in soya sauce, or presented in a mixed dish of vegetables; sometimes, it may be deep fat fried dumplings, either plain or with brown sugar stirred into the batter, or red and white fish cakes, or even several of these together. Less expensive foods, such as noodles and fried fish, are also served during feasts. Tairans have a sweet tooth and eat with relish the pound cakes and cookies which accompany or follow a meal. There is a sufficient quantity of food for the many guests, and whatever they cannot consume during the party, they may wrap up in a newspaper and take home.

527 Once food is set before the guests, the emptied tea cups are refilled,
574 but this time with sake. This helps immediately to loosen the formal
273 atmosphere which still prevails, at least after one or two cups have been emptied. Before this happens there may be, especially during weddings, family affairs, or the Mayor's reception, a polite exchange of cups between two men, who fill each other's and present it with a little ap-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment.

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody.

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyūyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyūyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters.

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed.

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
[534] the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
574 is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
535 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can
be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of
either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira
people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a
story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance
deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket
under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand move-
ments the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly
artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become
simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men
or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established
movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience
around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in
rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake,
they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual
interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by
the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old
woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get
tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance
established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if
called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother,
young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a
girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away
by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her
aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical move-
ments to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come
home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the
old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her
entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
574 be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance.

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families.

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration.

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people.

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day.

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking.

21Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep.

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene.

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby.

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. 262
Jūshiimē is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. Tōfu- 252
champuru is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a little 'miso' and some soysauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tōfu'. 'Tōfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now.

A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is 273
sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from [231]
making 'awamori', called kashijii, was very cheap---about two gallons could be had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also fur- [157]
nished the base for kachijē-ēi, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach.

Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration 262
known as tushibii is held. This is the occasion for a feast of 574
whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring [561]
of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast:

--Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
--Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
--Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
--Several slices of fried bean curd
--Fish cake
--Deep-fried sugar batter
--A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
--Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
--Red rice; noodle soup
--Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

--Two pieces of pork
--1 piece fried bean curd
--Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
--1 piece of pork heart
--Two pieces of fish cake
--A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
--Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
--Two pieces of sweet pound cake
--Two pieces of kujimuchi (a rice cake)
--Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
--One deep-fried flour dumpling
--Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

[137] During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The [252] giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisē. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 177 276 272 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite often [574] 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
● [574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
[272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a rawer, stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely.

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption would appear to be considerably less.

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering, but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home they may put their feet out in front of them.

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood.

---

1 This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

2 Burd 1952, p. 82.

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
• 574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts,
thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later
that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is
keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of
friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off
the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A
larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies
and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the
blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller
black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out
onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the
mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper
places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly
explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks
properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much
[296] exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
[35] liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory.
[514] Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be allowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.